1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways.

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau:

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere.

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves.

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first.

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection.

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble.

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out "*ninggo*," it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tava sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [?nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian-name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[28] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[28] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[725] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589] vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
● 304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used.

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass.

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women.

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder.

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck.

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2′ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu.

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau.

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth.

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents. 304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on bark-
531] cloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the choice is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property among his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [85 304] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. Formerly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- [881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation receives no formal recognition.

ooo When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl